FELLOWSHIP

January 1947 Vol. XIII—No. 1

For the New Year

AS WE ENTER THE NEW YEAR we of the Fellowship of Reconciliation face a world that is suffering, perplexed and fearful. Our tasks are clear. We must share every resource we have for victorious living. We have a faith undaunted by any setbacks; an unshakable confidence in the redemptive purposes of God. We know something of the power of love to reconcile, and we must explore far more deeply this creative mystery. Not one of the ills of today lies beyond the reach of reconciliation. Let us draw still closer together, then, into fellowship through which alone we may with courage face the larger undertakings that are ahead.

CHARLES IGLEHART
National Chairman, FOR
January 1, 1947

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

The old Year (1946) was moving off the earthly scene. Slowly and feebly he approached the open portals of the Hall of Time. There to meet him stood his predecessor, the Year 1945, eager expectancy upon his countenance. "Hast thou finished my work?" said 1945. "I won the war—the greatest war in history. I defeated Germany in the West and Japan in the East. I smashed our enemies. I blasted into pitiful bits of rubble the citadels of their rule. But I could not stay to make the peace. I had to leave this to your hands. Tell me, hast thou won the peace as I won the war?"

Dejectedly the Year 1946 shook his head. "No, brother," he whispered. "There is no peace. I have tried, but failed. The peoples all want peace. Victors and vanquished alike are sick of war, and fearful of it. But I have grown old while diplomats have met and argued, and nothing done. Now my last hour is at hand, and I leave the world worse off than when I came."

"But I do not understand," said 1945. "My victory was complete. America, Britain, Russia were masters of the world. They had only to join hands and make peace forever. There was nobody to say them nay."

"Nobody but themselves," said a hollow voice from within the open portals.

Voices of History

"Hast thou forgotten me?" said the Year 1919, emerging into the light. "I also inherited victory from my brother, 1918. I actually made a peace. Or it was called a peace! This was more than thou wast able to do," continued 1919 to 1946. "But this peace did not last. Even my League of Nations failed. War came again."

"As war always comes again," said an older voice, the Year 1815. "I won Waterloo. I delivered into the hands of Time a world rid of Napoleon. There succeeded the Holy Alliance, which made peace in the name of God. But Vienna was like Versailles. Peace did not last. Europe again was delivered to the sword."

A great silence fell upon the place. Then came groans and moans of anguish, as the years one by one recalled their failures. All through the centuries, as the multitudinous years passed by in solemn procession, they had cried Peace, Peace, and there was no Peace. And despair dwelt with them, and a great fear for the future.

Then came a voice, strange and far away. It was a voice soft with love and brave with patience.

"I can tell you the mystery," said the voice. "It is very simple. You seek peace through war, and war cannot bring peace. You take the sword, and perish with those whom you destroy. When through violence you win the victory, your very violence defeats the victory. For violence destroys not merely the enemy but your own soul. You can thus only fight again, and renew the endless chain of war. Our brother 1946 failed because our brother 1945 doomed him to failure. 'Not by power, nor by might, but by my spirit, saith the Lord!'"

"Who art thou, brother?" asked the year 1815, peering into the dark spaces of the Hall of Time.

"I am one who was long centuries ago, and is since forgotten," said the quiet voice. "I am the Year that saw Christ born."

"And I an older Year," said a voice faint and far. "My child was Gautama the Buddha."

"And mine St. Francis," said a voice like bells upon the air.

"And mine Tolstoi," said still another voice.

"And I am 1869," said one quite near the open door. "I gave Gandhi to the world. My beloved son!" And the voice sounded like a chord of triumphal music.

Only Love Brings Peace

Then slowly, softly, there came a chant of many voices. "We know, we know, for we have learned. Our children have taught us. The sword devours; only love can bring men peace."

"Then I did not win, but fail," cried 1945.

"Yea, you failed."

"And I," said 1918.

"You too!"

"And I," repeated 1815.

"Yea," said a voice, "you failed, all of you. You won great victories of arms, but in vain. For there is no peace in victory—and what is victory without peace? We must seek another way, a better way, which the Masters all have shown."

And silence fell again upon the years. Only the Year 1815 spoke as though to himself, "We have sinned. We have sinned." And like an echo came the voice of the Year 1918. "Yea, brother, we have sinned."

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Co-Secretaries
A. J. MUSTE • JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*
J. ELLIOTT FINLAY, *Managing Editor*

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Then suddenly the Year 1945 sprang to his feet, and cried out in shame and pity. And he flung himself to his knees, and lifted his hands to the Year 1946, new come among them, and he said:

"Forgive me, my brother. If thou canst, forgive me! I have done thee wrong. I thought in arms to save the world. I sought by killing men to bring them life. To win love through hate, and peace through fighting! I took the sword—and gave to thee the cross. Yea, it is I who have failed, not thee. Alas, alas, my brother!"

"But fear not," continued 1945. "For in thee shall all men see my fault. By thy stripes shall men be healed."

"So be it, brother." And the Year 1946 stooped tenderly, and lifted 1945 to his feet again, and held him to his heart.

"Be comforted, my brother. Come, take my hand. Here together in this great Hall of Time, we will wait, as these others have long waited. And peace at last will come!"*

* In Memoriam, Walter Rauschenbusch. See his *Chrisitanity and the Social Crisis*, chapter v, page 211.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

January 1947 — Vol. XIII—No. 1

Subheads

Explanation

The human structure is hung on a vertical axis, as a result of which convenient arrangement the human mind is able to swivel without noticeable creaking from one position to another that is diametrically opposite. This is admittedly only our own private hypothesis, but it will have to do until somebody comes along with a better explanation of why a strike against the government is patriotic and praiseworthy when conducted by industry in order to break price controls, and anarchic and reprehensible when conducted by miners in order to keep their wages within shouting distance of non-controlled prices.

Data

From the handling of the coal strike news, the average citizen could be pardoned for guessing that the only issue involved was a lust for personal power on the part of John L. Lewis. Our own research staff comes up with the following data, pretty well authenticated, which might be called the case for the miners:

1. Coal-mining is an unpleasantly hazardous occupation. In the last five years 6,561 miners were killed and 322,873 injured.

2. The Government took over the mines last spring in order to end a 59-day strike. Its possession ostensibly was for the period needed by the operators and miners to come to an agreement. The operators have largely refused to negotiate, leaving no one for the miners to deal with except the Government.

3. Government operation has been pretty much a technicality: mines have been run by the same personnel, and profits have gone to the same owners.

4. According to Victor Riesel, New York *Post* labor editor, profits have been substantial. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. earned a net profit of $1,025,126 in the third quarter of this year, and "a score of other companies" earned from $400,000 to $1,000,000 net profit in the same period. The miners have dug an average of more than 12,000,000 tons a week; the labor cost per ton is $2; the retail price is $12.

5. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals that the retail price index rose from 133.3 to 148.4 between June and October—an increase of 11 per cent—and is still rising; the miners' wages have not gone up.

Incidentally, the "no strike against the Government" argument is another version of the Nazi idea, and sounds especially odd coming from the same people who contend that the Germans should have refused to obey *their* government.

Free Enterprise

In this connection, the plaintive protests that the miners at least should have waited until their coal wasn't so badly needed suggest that the protestants have confined their reading to NAM's honeyed descriptions of our economic system. We operate under a system of ruthless competition, which is very much like war. Under its rules, everyone is entitled to fight everyone else for as large a share of the nation's wealth as he can get. If there are opportunities to be taken advantage of, the rules say take advantage of them. If there is a shortage of meat, the rules advise the farmers to hold back their grain and the stock-raisers their animals until controls are broken, even if that means no meat for some people. If autos are scarce, the rules tell the dealer he's a dope if he doesn't wangle a bonus of a thousand dollars on each car he sells.

The coal strike, like the rest of the strikes that are coming up, sprang from the basic immorality of a materialistic profit-centered economy, in which the working man has to go to war to get a reasonably fair share of the wealth he produces.

Miracle

Referring back briefly to the meat industry's strike against the Government: when price controls finally were dropped on meats, the UAW's Walter Reuther is reported to have remarked: "We shall now see the miracle of calves conceived, born, weaned, raised, fattened, slaughtered, and on the counter within twenty-four hours." And verily, brethren, it was so!

Humor

The sessions of the Senate committee investigating Theodore "The Man" Bilbo's right to his seat in the new Senate developed into some of the jolliest affairs held in recent years. Correspondents reported that committee, witnesses, audience, and Mr. Bilbo participated in the good clean fun—everybody, in fact, except for a few spoil-sport Negroes who kept telling about being beaten across the legs with steel cables and being warned not to exercise their inalienable right to vote. Reporters told how Senator Ellender, who presided, would turn to wink at Mr. Bilbo

before questioning a hostile witness, and once, said the papers, the audience broke into "uncontrollable" laughter. On the last day of the hearing, The Man explained his statement during the campaign that "the best time to keep a nigger away from a white primary is to see him the night before." Of course he meant only a peaceful, persuasive visit, said Mr. Bilbo. Yes, sir, a *very* funny affair!

Conscription

The heat is on in earnest now, and the pro-peacetime conscription boys are beating the drums with all their might. The Generals talk vaguely but ominously of "threatening" conditions, and President Truman appoints a rubber-stamp committee of nine to "study" the needs and make recommendations—which oddly enough will be practically identical with the War Department's recommendations—and Prexy himself tries to take the curse off by describing military conscription as neither military nor conscription. The lovers of freedom are going to have to be very vigilant indeed in the next few months!

The March of Ideas

Nine scientists, led by Messrs. Einstein and Urey, are trying to raise a million dollars with which to tell everybody that atomic bombs can be made cheaply and in large numbers, that there is and will be no military defense against A-bombs, and that if we attempt to prepare against atomic war the very attempt will ruin the structure of our social order and the war itself will "surely" destroy our civilization.

Bernard Baruch and Secretary of War Patterson made speeches warning that this country must not disarm until peace is assured.

General Ira C. Eaker, deputy commander of the Army Air Forces, urges that the U.S. prepare to "strike first" in the event of another war.

The Army Air Forces have announced a new bomber that can "carry an atomic bomb to any inhabited region in the world and return home without refueling."

And a man on Long Island sold his house and his business and moved himself and his family to a remote spot in Montana.

Like A Mighty Army

General Dwight C. Eisenhower was given The Churchman Award for the promotion of good will and better understanding among all peoples.

General Omar Bradley was appointed to the committee of 100 to prepare for the 21st International Sunday School Convention next summer.

Criminal

A Japanese-American newspaper refers editorially to two crimes recently committed in Japan. One was the killing of two unoffending Japanese by a young American soldier who suddenly "ran amok." He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. The second crime was committed by a Japanese youth, who killed an American soldier who caught him stealing food from a warehouse. He was sentenced to death, and executed. The different treatment, suggests the editorial writer, will not escape the Japanese people.

He is probably right. What will escape the Japanese people, as it continues to escape most people, is the injustice of the punishment in *both* cases, and the fact that the real malefactors continue to go scot-free!

For why should that Japanese youth have risked his life to steal food from under the eyes of an armed guard unless he was desperately hungry, or unless others were so hungry that even such risks were worth the profit he could make? And neither he nor the boy he killed was responsible for *that!*

And the American private, who had no blot on his record as a civilian in a New Jersey town: would he have run amok if he had not had pumped into him day in and day out the insistence that "the Japs are beasts"? How should a boy in his twenties be expected to know the difference between the sacred duty of killing Japs on a battlefield and the murderous crime of killing them in a city park?

In Germany recently General McNarney was quoted as having admitted that part of the responsibility for turning many teen-age American occupation troops into "toughs and bullies" lay with the official army orientation program of movies and booklets which, says the dispatch, "paint every German as an evil militarist tarred with the nazi brush of savagery and not to be trusted under any circumstances."

"A society," said one observant criminologist, "gets the criminals it deserves." Unfortunately, it punishes those who are least responsible.

Provincial

Subheads has been shown up as blushingly provincial, with its hasty conclusion that the American League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment went out of business just because it went out of the New York telephone directory. Actually the League, probably in search of a pleasant place to work, moved to California.

Kaleidoscope

A veteran of World War II named as insurance beneficiaries the families of two German soldiers he had killed; then he committed suicide.

* * *

General Motors showed a loss of 74½ million dollars for the first half of this year, so the government gave GM a refund of 88½ million from excess profits taxes paid during the war!

* * *

A Japanese clerk with an abacus—an ancient contraption of wires and wooden beads—defeated an American operator of a modern calculating machine in a speed and accuracy contest.

* * *

Methodist Bishop Oxnam suggests a formula for future treatment of COs, including the provision that "COs who strike to effect reforms should face the same discipline a soldier would face if he struck."

* * *

The president of Kiwanis International is quoted by *The New Republic* as declaring that "the only hope for lasting peace is to imbue the people with the spirit of Christ, until they use force to regulate the people who understand only force."

The Myth of American Disarmament

By DEVERE ALLEN*

SENATOR WARREN AUSTIN, let us imagine, stood up before the United Nations Assembly and declared that Abraham Lincoln shot John Wilkes Booth, Benedict Arnold won the Revolutionary War, and the sun revolves around the earth. He did not, of course, say any such thing; if he had, his listeners would have thought him mad. Yet he made a central point in his address on disarmament that was no less fantastic, and it won applause from his supposedly educated audience.

What he really said was this: "After the last war, we made the mistake of disarming unilaterally. We shall not repeat that mistake." Senator Austin, along with most Americans, probably thought he was speaking historic fact. If so, the Senator needs a research assistant and the American people need to be cured of a dangerous delusion. For the truth, easily demonstrated by the record, is precisely the reverse.

No general staff existed for American military affairs until 1903, when one was set up by Congress. Its inspiration was so definitely Prussian that General John M. Schofield, a former Secretary of War, told Congress at the time: "The Germans are probably the best type, and Von Moltke is probably the best illustration in modern times of what the military chief of staff may be and should be." But there was still one difference: Congress decided military policy.

That gap was bridged in 1920 when the National Defense Act of 1916 was amended. The change did not give military authorities the peacetime conscription they demanded, but they got control of basic policy, an expansible machine of their own planning, decisions on procurement, and the opportunity to prepare industrial mobilization even in advance of any emergency. The significance of these developments was noted all over the world.

Plugging new weapons, we aroused reactions throughout the globe. New gases, explosives, long-range guns, heavy bombs, and, finally, a "flying torpedo" (actually a pilotless, bomb-loaded plane) followed on the heels of each other, put out with a flair for publicity that could only turn professional advertising men green with envy. Senator Borah, not yet entangled with isolationism, inquired, "Why this haste to complete the instruments of war, and why this ostentatious announcement of it at this particular time?" The time was just four days before the Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

Only Capital Ships Limited

How many remember that this Conference limited only capital ships, and that the few we scuttled were universally regarded as offensive, rather than defensive, weapons? How many know that after Japan had long fought for a ratio of 5-5-4 (U.S., Britain, Japan), the Tokyo regime wired its delegation in secret code that, at any cost, the Americans must be given enough concessions to guarantee the peace? And that our secret cryptographic office (disbanded in shame when Stimson became Secretary of State) decoded the wire, which it had intercepted, and put a copy in the hand of every delegate on our side, so that we held out for the eventual 5-5-3 ratio knowing we could get it all the time? Or that when this trick became known years later, the Japanese press flamed with resentment, and their war lords got just the boost they wanted?

It is dishonest to do what some anti-militarists have done, and base criticism of arms outlays on costs alone. Prices vary greatly, and because American economic standards are high, this makes our arms expenditures seem proportionately higher than they are. All the same, we were spending on defense, excluding war debts, pensions, etc., in 1922, $1,841,940,000 as compared to $1,169,407,400 for Britain, $709,560,000 for France, and $403,380,000 for Japan. Russia's armament amounted to little, and Germany was then truly disarmed. Weight these figures as you will to allow for differences in cost, and you can still hardly say that we were "disarming unilaterally."

Weighted Figures

A little later, in 1924, using figures that *are* weighted in terms of uniform prewar purchasing values, our annual comparative defense outlay was $376,800,000, contrasted to $353,397,000 for Britain, and $109,510,000 for Japan. Russia was arming then, but had reached only $123,887,000 by this accurate comparative computation. Noncapital ships were not limited until 1930, when by agreement we had 180,000 tons in heavy cruisers, next thing to offensive battleships, against a limit of 146,800 tons for Britain and 108,400 for Japan. In the air, by 1929, France was leading quantitatively with 1,434 war planes, but we had 829, the British 772, and the Japanese 557. In aircraft carriers we were limited to 150,000 tons, as was Britain, while Japan had 81,000 tons.

When Hitler seized power in early 1933 and started his rearmament, everything went haywire. Did we even then "disarm unilaterally"? No, we only weakened our military strength by helping him build up his armed might. Russia sold him manganese, France sold him tanks, Britain and America sold him airplane motors. American firms actually sold him our best patents, collecting royalties until nosy investigators became restless, when he paid our concerns a flat annual fee of $50,000, thus disguising the extent of our aid. Then, when the Spanish Civil War broke out, and protests were made at Washington over the arms we were shipping to Germany for transshipment to Franco, the State Department replied, on May 12, 1938, that while our postwar treaty with Germany prohibited the Germans from importing arms, it did not prohibit America from exporting arms to Germany!

Nothing can so poison public opinion here or abroad as the continuous reiteration of a legend. We could wisely say, as Hamlet put it, "From the table of my memory I'll wipe away all trivial fond records." We blundered badly after World War I. In a deceptive search for safety through superiority in arms, we helped to make inevitable the next world conflict. As we emerge from this one, what is the real "mistake" we seem most likely to repeat?

* Editor, Worldover Press; FOR member.

Meet the Veteran

By EDGAR JONES*

Throughout the war we were presented with a mythical figure known as the typical GI Joe. The darling of politicians, advertising copywriters, and all the maudlin creators of popular fiction, this GI Joe was usually depicted as fighting for "Mom, blueberry pie, and 100 per cent Americanism." He was an uncompromising, self-sacrificing patriot with a bulldog determination to settle for nothing less than unconditional surrender and the complete eradication of all the forces of evil, fascist or otherwise.

In contrast to the adman's Joe was another typical GI: the dirty, bearded character who plodded bleary-eyed through the cartoons of Bill Mauldin and the dispatches of Ernie Pyle. This second Joe had no clear idea of what he was fighting for. He fought because he had to. He never pretended to like the war, and he was ready to come home whenever an honorable out presented itself. He was not, however, a quitter. He did the job he was expected to do and stuck it out until the folks at home were satisfied. Through his close association with mud, flies, and sudden death, he developed a marked antipathy toward the folks at home, because they failed to understand what they were asking him to do.

Joe Wanted Changes Made

The characterization of each of these Joes included a promise to come home and "change things" after the war. In the case of the adman's Joe, who was quickly adopted by all the professional defenders of "Americanism" and bestowed with a full set of reactionary ideas, the postwar promise was almost a threat. Joe was coming home to free his country of Reds, bureaucrats, and labor leaders. He was going to return his people to the days of free enterprise, with two jeeps in every garage and a John L. Lewis in every county jail. Since Joe was a fighting man who had brought democracy to the world at the end of a bayonet, there was a suggestion in many vitriolic speeches that Joe had better get what he wanted, or he might take to violence and that would be bad, oh so very bad—for the likes of people like John L.!

The promise held out by the Mauldin-Pyle Joe was much more vague. He was bitter about military life, the hackneyed patriotism of flagwavers, and the whole feeling of being pushed around. There was a repeated suggestion that this Joe would turn thumbs down on becoming involved in future fighting and wanted very much to call his soul his own. One also received the impression that the war had changed Joe's thinking and made him more liberal, more tolerant, and more firmly convinced that a buddy was a buddy, regardless of racial or economic background. Neither Mauldin nor Pyle furnished their Joe with definite postwar plans, but it was understood that he would want more evidence of democracy at home and might be rather unfriendly toward those groups which either advocated another war or fostered racial or economic discrimination.

Actually, of course, neither the adman's Joe nor the Mauldin-Pyle Joe was representative of all American servicemen, because there was no such thing as a typical GI Joe, any more than there is a typical American. The Army may have standardized a great many things, but it could not standardize human personality. Our local boys no more thought alike in the Army and Navy than they did in high school. They clung to their individuality with a tenacity that made the professional military man shudder, and only in the Marine Corps was it possible to find a group of men who had been sufficiently browbeaten to pass for downright soldiers and not civilians in uniform.

Nevertheless, nearly all servicemen shared a common dislike for military life, and in this respect they bore a remarkably close resemblance to the Mauldin-Pyle Joe. Regardless of previous conditions of servitude, the average man in the Army and Navy was loud in his declarations that home was never like this. While men like the Mauldin-Pyle Joe could be expected to be unhappy, because he represented the relatively few servicemen who actually slept in foxholes for prolonged periods of overseas service and ate spasmodically from tin cans, it was always surprising to a wandering outsider like myself to discover that practically no one in uniform was contented, whether he was in a foxhole, or at a desk in Washington, or snugly aboard a battleship, or 20,000 feet in the air, or permanently stationed at a camp in this country with a loving wife living just outside the gates.

Joe Hated War

Whether hungry or well fed, with either the ground or an innerspring mattress for a bed, the average serviceman cursed his fate, and the most spectacular USO shows on earth did no more than keep his morale at a level only slightly above the breaking point. Military life in any form was inherently distasteful to most Americans and, as far as I could judge from my limited experience with the wounded in the Libyan Desert, to most of the British, Germans, Italians, French, Australians, and South Africans.

Judging from this, one would suppose that there was such a thing as a typical serviceman's attitude toward military life, but such was not the case. Some men hated the discipline and confinement; others the mental frustration; others the stupidity and crassness of his immediate superiors; others the wastefulness and destruction; others the interruption of their life work, and still others the debasement of human dignity. The manifestations of these hates were much the same, but it would be foolhardy to generalize about a common antiwar attitude among the men who were in service. Most of the men found it possible to adjust themselves to their regimented environment, although a number of them were unable to stand the sudden change in human values—as witness the fact that approximately forty per cent of all medical discharges were by reason of mental or emotional disorders!

Whatever their reasons for their obvious dissatisfaction with military life, it appeared only two short years ago that there were some ten million men who hated war with enough fervor to do something about it, when and if they ever got the chance. It did not seem possible that so much

* Veteran of North Africa, Sicily and the Pacific; author of *"I'm an Ill-Adjusted Veteran* and numerous articles; FOR member.

seething discontent would not precipitate a minor revolution as soon as the last shot was fired, and there were many observers who prophesied that the veteran would really take matters into his own hands when he returned to civilian life.

Yet what has been heard from the veteran since his discharge? Certainly he has not taken over the country, or stood on a united veterans platform, or organized a substantial voting bloc, or made any unreasonable demands on his fellow countrymen, or even carried out the most conservative of his wartime vows, which was to "put the home-front straight on what the war was really like."

The only group of organized veterans who are wholeheartedly trying with crusaders' zeal to bring about the permanent peace for which they fought are those in the American Veterans Committee. The AVC, which stands squarely opposed to most of the traditional policies of the American Legion, so far, has attracted little more than eighty thousand veterans of World War II, whereas some two million have joined the American Legion and another one and a half million have enrolled in the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which, like the Legion, is known for its military-mindedness. It seems obvious, therefore, that no peace movement on the part of a majority of veterans will be forthcoming in the near future.

"If they'd ask me, I'd tell 'em how to prevent war—They should try to get me to enlist as a private again!"
(Cartoon by George Lichty, courtesy Chicago Times Syndicate)

To understand what has happened to veterans, one must forget about the adman's Joe and concentrate on that victim of bewilderment, the Mauldin-Pyle Joe. The latter was a confused soldier. He arrived in North Africa and said, "What are we doing here? It was the Japs who attacked us." He fought against the French one month, and with them the next. He had the Italians as enemies at one point, and as friends shortly afterwards. The whole affair seemed increasingly senseless to him; he was past surprises; the news from home contradicted much that he saw with his own eyes, and it was impossible to distinguish between fact and rumor. So he stopped trying to figure things out for himself and did as little thinking about the war as possible. He just kept pushing ahead, because that seemed to be the only way of eventually getting home.

Because he lived for several years in a vacuum, that Joe did not return to civilization with any very concrete ideas of what to do with the peace he had won, and I would say that most men and women in service had much the same experience. There was nothing about the war to nurture any common, constructive platform for veterans, and the chief aim of all of them was to regain their old way of life. Our millions of Joes may have fussed and fumed at times about the way things were run in this country, but in lieu of a typical thought-pattern acquired overseas, they picked up their civilian perspectives at approximately the same point where they left them upon donning a uniform. By no means of a like mind, they may be found on either side of a current issue and have loyalties which range from Peglerism to strict adherence to the policies of CIO-PAC.

It is time we reorient our consideration of veterans along these lines: a veteran is a relatively young American, not ipso facto different from other young Americans, who went to war and came home again. If he had an abhorrence of war before Pearl Harbor, he probably has a deeper abhorrence now. If he did not think much about war and peace before Pearl Harbor, he probably does not do any more thinking about them now. If he felt that a large Army and Navy are essential to our self-preservation and that wars are inevitable, he probably feels the same way now. If he believed in racial equality, the value of democratic processes, and the inherent godliness of all men, he probably found confirmative evidence of the validity of his beliefs; if not, he probably acquired the makings of an arrogant, minority-hating fascist. Whatever he was before the war, he probably is more so now.

I know this sounds neither hopeful nor in keeping with popular reports on veterans, but I have found very little evidence that the war wrought any permanent changes in the bulk of the men who took part in it. While antiwar sentiments ran high among the boys in the ranks, those sentiments now appear in retrospect to have been motivated largely by a self-centered dislike for the inconveniences involved in soldiering. I don't think there is any question but what millions of men saw the war for what it was, but I doubt that many of them came to any new conclusions about it.

Combat men like the Marines who took Iwo Jima were thoroughly aware of how utterly ridiculous it was to fight unto death for the sake of eight square miles of worthless volcanic ash, yet they still felt that Iwo was a dirty job that had to be done. They recognized the evil of war without grasping the fact that it was not a necessary evil. Likewise, the men who complained so bitterly about the undemocratic aspects of military life did not, for the most part, appreciate the fact that there could never be such a thing as a democratic army. Instead of blaming their loss of

(*Continued on page* 10)

The Union That's Afraid of Success

By BARNEY TAYLOR*

A lady came down from New York to visit our union last week. After three days of seeing the people in their meetings and observing their activities, she said as she left, "I think you may have the key to the salvation of the South—perhaps the whole country."

Over-enthusiastic? I don't know. There are some "ifs."

The National Farm Labor Union, now affiliated with the AFL, had its place in the limelight as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Led from the start by idealists, among whom were some Socialists and a goodly number of clergymen, it beat the CIO by years on non-discrimination among workers. It has held strictly to non-violence in the face of all sorts of aggression from "riding bosses" and alleged officers of the law. Bourbon law, that is. Union meetings open and close with prayer, and an organizer who doesn't know his Bible and quote its passages with considerable frequency is immediately suspect.

Since Southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers, who now constitute the bulk of our membership, cannot expect the ordinary forms of collective bargaining provided for industrial workers by the Wagner Act, other and higher motives form the basis for membership appeal: a long-range program of land for the landless, the end of lynchings, the abolition of the poll tax, and the inclusion of the agricultural workers under those laws from which they are presently excluded—Social Security, Wages and Hours, the Wagner Act.

The Mystery of Survival

We are unusual. There is no doubt about that. How this union has managed to survive and prosper is a deep mystery to the conventional labor leader. It has offered no dollars. It has rubbed salt into the wounds of prejudice by holding interracial meetings, by chartering no Jim Crow locals or councils. Our people are poor and can pay little in dues. We operate on an annual budget for our whole organization that is roughly equal to Philip Murray's salary.†

Instead of "Join the Union and get a pay raise," we can only say, "Organize and help lift each other upward. Maybe together we can get something done for ourselves."

Now, instead of this queer, unconventional union, we begin to be on the road to legitimacy. The AFL has chosen the NFLU to hold jurisdiction over and to organize all farm workers in America. We will soon begin to lose our Southern accent—and perhaps our purity. That's one of the "ifs." We are pretty sure of success in our organizing efforts, and if we are successful, we shall be the biggest union in America.

We shall need financial assistance from the AFL and its affiliates for this undertaking. Can we get it without strings? Will our possible prosperity, potentialities, and ultimate bigness attract people to us who yearn for money or power, or both? Will we, the present leaders, begin to think in terms of Big Business and lose our feeling for people? More "ifs."

I like to think of us as big *and* idealistic *and* pure. I'm sure it can be done. With all credit to the AFL and CIO, they have still made only a limited penetration into the enemy's lines. Liberals? Readers of the *New Republic* speak only to readers of the *Nation,* and the readers of *Fellowship* only to each other. Our union has carried the fight straight into the General Headquarters of the foe—the cotton South.

What if I said that there are enough NFLU members in one section of Arkansas to elect a Congressman? The Supreme Court decision on Negro voting may mean that a liberal representative may come to Congress in 1948 from a purely agricultural, Southern district!

Present Problems

Dreams of our future bigness, and our increased feelings of security drawn from our AFL affiliation do not, however, alter the fact that, right now, we are still poor, still struggling, and still beset with grievous problems. Enrolling new members at the rate of about five hundred per month can't make us overlook the 118 families on the Twist Plantation who are being sued for all the savings they have built up over a period of seven years through an FSA-sponsored cooperative, and that their cooperative itself is being broken up by Arkansas landhogs. Our union brother, Tee Davis, is still in jail, sentenced to ten years for defending his home. We are entering our fifth year of litigation to save the all-Negro townsite of Edmondson, Arkansas, from the clutches of big plantation owners who seized the place from our members because they "didn't want these niggers gettin' too independent."

We've got to find money somewhere for our brothers out in Las Cruces, New Mexico, who went out there from the cotton Delta to seek freedom and independence, under Union sponsorship, on land of their own. They need to drill deep-water wells and buy tools.

I'm a little disturbed about our prospects for material success. Spiritually, the Union has been a success from the day it was born in a country church near Tyronza, Arkansas. I even caught myself telling H. L. Mitchell the other day that "By this time next year, this Union will probably be too big for me to fool with any longer." Could idealist Mitchell cope with a "good hard-headed business man" union leader? Will Mitchell's pleasant, easy-going democracy be replaced by the autocracy and ambition of materialists? Will we soon be talking about a ten-cent an hour increase in pay instead of the Rights of Man and the inalienable dignity of the individual?

Maybe not. Surely there are enough people of good will in our country who can see our possibilities for good. Maybe they will help us stay on the right track. Maybe we will prove that at least one movement, which may one day number millions, can remain pure.

I don't remember when I ever worried so much about being successful.

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* Organization chief, National Farm Labor Union.

† Philip Murray, president of the CIO, gets no salary from that office, but is paid $20,000 a year by the Steelworkers union, of which he is also president. Just to keep the record straight, William Green, AFL president, also gets a salary of $20,000 per year.—Ed.

When scientists raise money and write articles calling for peace, does it mean a conversion to pacifism? No, says this writer, and warns—

Beware the Scientists Bearing Olive Branches

By GEORGE W. HARTMANN*

Is there a genuine antiwar movement among American scientists? Have those trained technical experts who participated in the development of various weapons of destruction experienced post-Hiroshima pangs of conscience? Do men who earn their living by engaging in various forms of pure and applied research now constitute a substantial addition to the forces working for permanent peace?

These questions deserve serious consideration as we enter a period when new recruits to the pacifist movement will probably outnumber those defections which were so heartbreaking when the country adopted the emotional orientation appropriate to a society eagerly preparing for war. The various peace organizations rightly welcome the support of anyone who honestly expresses agreement with their fundamental aims and methods. Yet such is the prestige of science in the modern world, and in America particularly, that pro-peace sentiments from representatives of this occupational area are likely to carry more weight with non-scientists than a strictly objective consideration justifies. Pacifists should not repeat the error of Veblen who thought that the engineers' professional interest in production was a sufficient psychological force to make them opponents of a profit-dominated business system. It will not be amiss to enter a similar caveat against the undue deference toward scientific men, even when one is gratified to see that some of them seem to be lining up on the side of the angels.

Fair Weather Pacifists?

Several cogent reasons for this warning exist, but one of the strongest is a well-grounded suspicion of the integrity of persons who are for peace in time of peace and for war in time of war. These fair-weather friends of pacifism are today declaring that there must be no more war, although their bloodthirsty behavior from 1939 on could hardly be equalled, much less surpassed, by any recognizable social group. Let another conflict prove popular and such folks again will head the entire procession in their manifestations of belligerency. How much confidence can one place in the depth of conviction of those technicians who two years ago were literally "evaluating" the worth of their well-paid contributions to the "war effort" in terms of the number of dead Japanese for which they could claim credit? It is a commonplace that most scientists, whether of high or low degree, will sell their specialized services to anyone who will place them on some payroll. German scientists no longer can work for the German war machine because that country lacks an independent treasury to pay for their skills; but Russia, England, France, and America are eagerly using their Satanic competence, and these intellectual hirelings do not seem to be too distressed by such a small matter as a change in employers. While the development of new and improved contrivances for slaying one's fellows is not ordinarily the first choice of a good laboratory man, a decent stipend and clear evidence of "social recognition" by powerful persons or institutions do much to make it palatable. The fact that there are similar professionals on the other, or "enemy," side merely acts as an added incentive to do a better job of devising quicker methods of reducing the world's population. The traditional willingness of men of science to lend themselves to the enterprise of war goes back at least to Archimedes, who perished when Syracuse fell to the Romans.

Even the most poorly informed citizen recognizes the fact that scientific findings sooner or later produce significant changes in all phases of human culture. But they are not sufficiently aware that the average scientist is either unconcerned or confused about the larger purposes to which the products of his mental energy are subordinated. The generalizations and principles the scientist understands best are those pertaining to his specialty, and not those involved in a broad social philosophy. A narrow rationalism in his own "field" and mildly skeptical conformity in all others characterize the dominant attitudes of the typical research man in our day.

Work Without Protest

If there is anything that World War II demonstrated in all countries, it is that nine scientific workers out of ten will labor without protest on any "project" or assignment emanating from the political or military arm of the State, even though they understand clearly that the chief motive back of government support is the hope that some of their findings can be used to inflict injury on other human beings. The number of scientists in any field—from astronomers to zoologists, from men in "pure" science to those in applied research, from representatives of the most precise of the natural or physical sciences to those in the least differentiated of the social sciences—who refused to make themselves available to their respective rulers for destructive ends was pathetically negligible.

Does this mean that men and women of scientific capacity are special kinds of devils? Hardly. They are no more malicious toward their fellows than the average man. On the contrary, because of their obviously better brains, we rightly expect them to be somewhat more benevolent and humane in their social attitudes. Misdirection of their powers by their own consent confers a Mephistophelean quality upon their intellectual efforts which they themselves in their better Faustian moments plainly recognize.

* Professor of Educational Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Most of them are attached to colleges and universities where research is usually ancillary to teaching—another normally benign activity also subject to perversion at home by all war-making governments, and abroad by conquering armies of occupation.

Inevitably one is impelled to ask: is there no correlation between intellect and morality? Are bright people ordinarily less humane than the slow-witted? The answer which most studies of individual differences support is that there is a moderate but consistently positive association between these two aspects of behavior. Stated somewhat differently, one may say that sensitivity to "truth" and awareness of "goodness" as distinguishable values tend to go together. There is little doubt that such is the *normal* relationship.

War's Distortion of Decency

But one of the many distorting consequences of a war situation is the upsetting of even so basic a connection as that existing between intellect and morality, so that quantitatively the relation is reduced to zero or even becomes noticeably negative. In the altered framework of conduct evoked by international war, with its reversal of most standards, the normally most decent and capable people do more harm than those who are ordinarily most selfish and stupid. This is the only adequate hypothesis to explain the paradox of a few thousand scientists, who should be representative of mankind at its best, actually causing by their joint efforts greater physical and mental torture, more fear, loss, and suffering, than an equal number of callous and sadistic concentration-camp guards. Their sin was a uniquely high-order combination of ferocity and stupidity of which geniuses alone are capable. Some of these scientists are restless and uneasy about their obvious criminality. Although the rest of society is equally contaminated, it should not allow these men, from Nobel medalists down, to forget what they introduced to mankind. Society had a right to expect a better gift from them.

They cannot, at least in America, plead in extenuation of their offense that those in political and military authority compelled them to act as they did. Of course, they were tempted and corrupted by limitless resources. But there was no true compulsion for them to produce uranium and plutonium bombs, knowing full well that the results of their endeavors would be murder on an unprecedented scale. They could have resisted and refused to accept such a degraded role. The responsibility for the death of thousands of men, women, and children is directly traceable to them. It would be utterly unscientific to claim that their destruction in any way advanced human welfare. That knowledge alone must be ample punishment to the participating scientists for their gross disregard of what should have been the controlling ethics of professional knowledge. May God have mercy on their souls!

It would be too much to expect the American Association for the Advancement of Science or any similar body to pass a resolution censuring those of its members who participated in this utilization of the phenomena of nuclear fission. Yet many of the scientists who were involved would like to be free from the memory of the supreme horror it caused and to escape from the vivid dread of some equally conscienceless users of this process on a grander scale in the future. Perhaps this mood, which suggests a shrinking from all wars, including so-called "just" ones like that from which we still suffer, may bring about a rapprochement between the pacifist movement and an increasing number of morally mature scientists. But there is little assurance that this reaction will be more than a temporary response to a shock stimulus.

Science Not A Force for Peace

The assumption, in some quarters, that organized science as such constitutes a force for peace is quite without warrant. To be sure, its "objective" methodology, the international or "universal" character of its context and publications, and the apparent fraternity of its world societies once gave some basis for this hope. But it is evident that a process of nationalization and regimentation common to the present counter-revolutionary age has everywhere brought scientists, like other citizens, under the close control of the State. Suppressed documents, secret processes, laboratory spies and detectives, all indicate a trend away from the simple individualistic research that is rapidly becoming anachronistic.

One would have thought that, despite the accident of home and community ties, the methods of inquiry and scholarship traditionally associated with scientists would have prevented their wholehearted identification with any one of the global alliances recently engaged in hostilities. But in general those valuable methods were not even used to deal with that question. On the contrary, their behavior indicates that scientists outside their area of competence often behave like dunces; if the crowd goes mad, they tend to run wild too, for their distinctive resistances are absent where stirring social issues confront them. If past behavior is any indication at all of prospective conduct in an emergency, pacifists will be well advised not to expect much dependable aid from scientists as such in their central task of preventing World War III.

Meet the Veteran

(*Continued from page* 7)

human rights on the war itself, they blamed their officers and the "caste system." They talked about democratizing the Army as though less saluting and fewer special privileges for officers would somehow do away with the distasteful totalitarianism of military life.

And in much the same way, the men who discussed with disgust the waste and inefficiency in the Army and Navy rarely came down to the basic point that all war is wastefulness from beginning to end. Instead, they griped about the stupidity of those men in high places who let food rot in warehouses and equipment rust on forgotten beachheads, as though a few constructive measures here or there would alleviate a totally destructive situation. It was this failure on the part of so many to think of the war as a whole on the basis of what they saw around them which makes me feel sure that few servicemen changed their attitudes toward war. They may have scorned the products of war, but they accepted its roots with only superficial questioning.

* * *

This is the first of two articles on the veteran by Mr. Jones. The second will appear in the February issue.

Letter from

DELHI

When we reached Delhi we drove out to the Untouchables' Colony, and went straight to Gandhiji. He looks stronger than I've ever seen him and is full of energy. He not only intends to live to be 125 but wants the rest of us to do the same. Gladys Owen had left her work in Lucknow to meet me and now we are settled into one of the four small reed-walled and thatched-roof rooms that lie on each side of the Harijan's Temple. Of course we met all our old friends, most of them now either Cabinet Ministers or on the Constituent Assembly. Jawaharlal Nehru came several times while we were there. And his sister, Mrs. Pandit, the world's first woman Minister of Health, was staying in his new house where we had tea with her, Lekha, her journalist daughter, and Indira.

At their request I talked about Chinese and Japanese Cooperatives to the students of the Lady Irwin College and after a tea such as no one in England has tasted for years, the All-India Women's Conference people assembled to hear what I could tell them about Europe. I chose that subject as it seems quite an unknown region here nowadays. When I'd said what I'd seen in different countries this year, the horrid suffering and the glorious acts of forgiveness and loving kindness, even to one's torturers; when I'd told about Czech FOR members, Norwegian student leaders, Belgian miners, and Jewish doctors who had pushed their way out of the accepted sequence of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and had let in a new element, they were much moved. To my intense delight, when a leading woman in Delhi proposed the vote of thanks, she *definitely* linked together these FOR facts and the newspaper reports of Moslems and Hindus protecting each other during the riots.

Gandhi asked me soon after my arrival if I had made a program for these ten weeks in India. When I said no, he was delighted and said I was to go to the Northwest Frontier Province, on to Afghanistan, then to Karachi and Quelta and right across the country to Calcutta. After a few days in Santiniketan, on again to Cheltagong and Assam. This was rather a blow as, except for Northwest Frontier Province, Calcutta and Santiniketan, I knew nobody in these places, and I was aching to meet the very special friends I've been so close to in spirit throughout the war. But he was adamant. I was to go to all the storm centers.

Gandhi has now been asked by the railway authorities to allow them to give him a special train, Third Class of course. It is so disturbing to their timetables to have him on any train. The crowds delay all traffic. So now a toy train, engine, tender, and Third Class compartment, steams wherever he orders and stops at any time for him to address the crowds on country roads.

MURIEL LESTER.

Of Lice and Rubbish Heaps

WALLACE HAMILTON

You've lived with the festering doubts so long, they're almost a part of you, like companionable lice. You've burnished ideas till they gleamed, and watched the rust creep over them. Your thought has twisted and convulsed, run the gamut from aspiring sainthood to ashen futility. You've pushed ahead, only to stumble back on yourself and collapse, panting, on a rubbish heap of hope. There you settle, resigned. There you sit, scratching.

Some liberal friend of yours, traveling in the wasteland, stops to converse with you, politely, cautiously. He mutters something about "respect for your point of view," and scratches himself idly. Suddenly his whole expression changes, and he points a finger at you. "You stayed clean while the rest of us got dirty. That was a big price to pay for an easy conscience—too big a price!"

You blink at him, a little stupidly. Did you hear him right? ". . . clean . . . easy conscience . . .?" You look around you, half expecting to see that velvet draperies have miraculously appeared, rich carpets and groaning tables of viands, brocaded couches to waft you off to a serene and dreamless sleep. But all you see is the same old squalid clutter, the rubbish heap.

Somehow your friend has mistaken your rubbish heap for some lush lamasery. Perhaps he's distracted by the itching. Lice are misery when they're first felt. Your friend's been so busy for so many years, he's probably just noticing them for the first time.

"If you don't scratch," you suggest, "it won't itch so much."

Your friend looks shocked and embarrassed. "Bad case of eczema," he explains.

You shrug, feel as resigned as ever. But your friend points his finger at you again, angrily. "It's all very well for you to sit there looking smug. Maybe your conscience is satisfied, just because you washed your hands of the war. But . . ."

Satisfied, sure. You bought an easy conscience ready-made across the counter, glutted it with a single action, and it's been happy as a clam ever since!

Your friend wants to talk about prices. By all means! Call him up to sit beside you and tell him what he ought to know about the high price of rubbish heaps. Read him the wise words of Arthur Koestler—

"One may challenge environment, but one has to pay for it, and the price is neurotic guilt. . . . It is the income tax one has to pay for wanting to make others richer. An armament manufacturer may have a perfectly clean conscience, but I have never met a pacifist without a guilty look in his eyes."

But don't stop there. Go on. Tell him about the Eumenides and the gibbering Furies. Tell him the story of Sisyphus and the big rock.

Political Handling of Relief Endangers Lives of Hungry

Political jockeying for position continues to have a tragic influence on the distribution of relief to war-devastated areas, where hunger remains acute despite a growing impression that the "worst is past."

In the face of impassioned pleas by UNRRA Director-General LaGuardia the United States and Britain have remained steadfast in their refusal to continue participation in internationally organized relief. Statements of their reasons were thinly disguised charges that in Eastern Europe particularly Russian administrators had distributed the food as having been donated by the Soviet Union, although actually the great bulk comes from the United States. References also have been made to the "lack of gratitude" on the part of such nations as Yugoslavia, where much food and other relief material shipments have not affected a diplomatic intransigence where political aims of the Western powers were concerned. Referring to the heartrending suffering in many of these areas, Mr. LaGuardia has pointed in vain to the fact that such retaliation, which is aimed at governments, actually hits the common people who have no effective voice in diplomatic negotiations.

Hunger in Germany

Meanwhile dispatches from Berlin reveal that 2,571 patients in hospitals in that city alone are suffering from hunger edema. Civic officials were reported as "not daring to guess" the number of victims outside the hospitals. Of the total, 1,105 cases were described as acute, with little chance of avoiding permanent after-effects.

Physicians point out that hunger edema, which previously had found most of its victims among the aged, now is striking persons in the 40-50 year age bracket. They explain that recovery is not effected by an increase in calories, but requires an improved quality of food, with much in the way of vegetables, eggs, and milk products, the rarest item in the German diet.

Other reports meanwhile indicate a bitter resentment at the custom of American army units in Germany of burning excess food rather than distributing it to the hungry populace.

The incidence of tuberculosis, diphtheria, and venereal disease is also alarmingly high throughout most of Germany, physicians report.

Destitution in Japan

In Japan half of the population, according to a December 8 dispatch to the *New York Times,* is unable to live on its earned income. According to Lindesay Parrott, who sent the dispatch, a poll of 100,000 Japanese revealed that 49 per cent of them were having to live on savings or by the sale of household and personal items. The salaried and wage-earning class is hardest hit, as usual, with only 32 per cent able to live within their earned incomes. The remainder are living what the Japanese term, according to Mr. Parrott, a "bamboo-shoot life." The reference is to the fact that a bamboo shoot can be peeled layer by layer until nothing remains.

U. S. Quotas Unfilled While DPs Live in Misery

Immigration quotas for Central Europe are going unfilled month after month, in spite of the fact that thousands of displaced persons are living in misery in that section of the world. This fact was revealed by the Friends Committee on National Legislation recently, which pointed out that although President Truman issued his order for speeding up admittance of such persons almost a year ago, less than 5,000 actually have entered, although the quotas permit 39,000.

The tragedy is that the quotas are non-cumulative, even from month to month, the committee points out, and suggests that people inquire of the State Department: (1) Since no change in the law is required, why should not quotas be cumulative from month to month? (2) If there is a shortage of quota for the Polish displaced persons, why is the quota of 6,000 for them unfilled? (3) Why have efforts to fulfill the President's orders been so ineffective over a year's time?

FOR Member Is Co-Winner Of 1946 Nobel Peace Prize

Miss Emily Greene Balch, 79-year old honorary president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was named co-winner with Dr. John R. Mott of the 1946 Nobel Peace Prize.

Miss Balch was co-founder with Jane Addams of the WIL, and has been an outspoken pacifist through both world wars. In 1918 she was dismissed from her post as Professor of Political Economy and Political and Social Science at Wellesley College because of her outspoken espousal of the pacifist cause; twenty-seven years later Wellesley invited her to be the speaker at an Armistice Day service.

Muste, Mayer, and Others Lead New Draft Protest

Return of draft credentials by hundreds of Americans as an expression of protest against the "developing pattern of conscription" is forecast for early 1947 by participants in the movement, which first found vocal expression at the FOR National Conference in September.

An invitation to join the protest demonstration was mailed in mid-December to 5,000 persons. It was signed by Ernest Bromley, Benjamin DeCou, Julius Eichel, Donald Harrington, George Houser, Dwight Macdonald, Milton Mayer, A. J. Muste, Clarence Nelson, Frank Olmstead, George Reeves, Paul Schilpp, John Swomley, Ralph Templin, and Theodore Walser. Declaring that the signers recognized that "this is serious, that we are undertaking a program of civil disobedience," it pointed out that "when our country is competing with the rest of the world in the manufacture of weapons of absolute destruction" persons who are opposed to such a trend must resist "dramatically and fervently."

The letter suggested that any persons who wish to join the demonstration send their names and addresses to George Houser, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y., in order that the movement might be coordinated nationally. It is believed that the return of cards, and letters to the President from those who have already returned cards, will be most effective if done simultaneously.

FOR Elects Iglehart Chairman for New Year

Charles Iglehart, Professor of Missions at Union Theological Seminary and Far Eastern Consultant of the International Missionary Council, has been elected by the National Council of the FOR to the position of National Chairman. He succeeds the Rev. Phillips P. Elliott.

Dr. Iglehart was a missionary in Japan for thirty-two years, and recently returned there for eight months as Adviser in Education and Religion at the request of General MacArthur. He has been Vice-Chairman of the American Committee of the International FOR.

Other officers elected by the Council were: *Vice Chairmen:* Phillips P. Elliott, Kirby Page, Katherine C. Pierce, Sheldon Rahn, Howard Thurman, Douglas Steere; *Treasurer:* J. Passmore Elkinton; *Assistant Treasurer*: Sue Flanagan.

Correction

In the December issue of FELLOWSHIP Dr. Frank P. Graham was referred to as a member of the FOR. We regret to say that this was in error. Dr. Graham is not affiliated with the Fellowship.

John Nevin Sayre Honored at Dinner

John Nevin Sayre, co-chairman of the International FOR and chairman of the American FOR's International Committee, was guest of honor at a dinner commemorating his long service in the pacifist movement. The dinner was held at the Riverside Church, in New York City, Monday evening, December 9.

More than two hundred friends and colleagues heard him lauded for his devotion to the cause of peace by Professor Halford Luccock, of Yale Divinity School; Dr. Kees Boeke, of Holland; and A. J. Muste, FOR secretary. A message of greeting from Mr. Sayre's brother, the Hon. Francis B. Sayre, diplomatic adviser to UNRRA, who had expected to be present but was called unexpectedly to Montevideo, Uruguay, was read by Mrs. Francis Sayre.

John Raitt, FOR member and star of the current musical comedy *Carousel,* sang, and several "one-sentence biographies" by schoolmates and colleagues completed the program. Dr. Phillips Packer Elliott, retiring national chairman, presided. A gift of more than $4,500 for the use of the International FOR was presented to Mr. Sayre.

Amnesty Efforts Continue

Pressure for a declaration of amnesty for imprisoned COs continued to mount as FELLOWSHIP went to press, but the Administration had made no move to break its intransigent silence.

Along with continuing resolutions of religious agencies and denominations urging such amnesty, the American Veterans Committee and the CIO national convention voted similar action, with the AVC appointing a delegation to visit officials in Washington to urge the matter. Editorials in favor of amnesty have appeared in many magazines and newspapers, including the *Saturday Evening Post,* with a national circulation of more than three million.

Plans were under way for a poster walk on Fifth Avenue, in New York City, on the Sunday before Christmas, December 22.

FOR Secretary Denied Admission to Bar

Orval Etter, Northern California secretary of the FOR, has been denied admission to the California bar solely because of his pacifist beliefs. The board of Bar Examiners stated that Orval, who is a member in good standing of the Oregon bar, "failed to meet the burden of showing that he is possessed of good moral character." The American Civil Liberties Union has announced its intention of supporting a suit, if necessary, to have the ruling reversed.

New Year Sees Changes in FOR Staff

The beginning of the new year sees a number of changes in the staff of the FOR, both at national headquarters and in the field.

Irene Ford, for eight years office manager at national headquarters, left in November to return to her home in Syracuse. Miss Ford, who came to the Fellowship when its annual budget was a third its present figure, made great contributions to its work through her skillful management of the office and records.

Ruth Erwin, assistant editor of FELLOWSHIP, in November took a position as parish worker in the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn.

Constance Rumbough, for eight years Southern secretary, with an office at Nashville, Tennessee, resigned as of September 1, 1946 to accept a teaching assignment at Staunton, Va.

Area offices have been closed for the Middle Atlantic and Rocky Mountain regions, though activities continue in these sections through local FOR offices and groups.

Ex-Cons May Vote In Some States

This comes a little late for this year, but ex-prison COs who have assumed that they have lost the right to vote may be taking an unnecessarily gloomy view of things. The Attorney-General of New York State, in a letter to a CO dated April 2, 1946, advised that "this (violation of the Selective Service Act) being a federal offense, and the acts constituting it not being punishable under any State law, conviction thereof, and subsequent imprisonment under such conviction, does not result in the loss of right to vote or become a candidate for public office. (Election Law #152)."

Jottings

FOR members purchased 30,000 Fellowship Christmas cards this year. The proceeds, amounting to about a thousand dollars, go to the War Victims Fund.

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The trial of the Glendora CPS strikers has been postponed again—to January 3.

* * *

There are now close to 500 FOR members in Latin America. Spanish editions of *White Corpuscles* in Europe, by Allan Hunter, and *The Power of Non-Violence,* by Richard Gregg, have been published there, and Aldous Huxley's *Science, Liberty and Peace* has been translated and is awaiting publication.

* * *

The cooperative movement, laboring diligently away at the economic roots of war, took another step forward with formation of an international cooperative petroleum association with capitalization of $15,000,000.

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The American Friends Service Committee has announced a budget for the year of $8,365,326, largest in its history. Most of it will go for overseas relief.

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An increasing number of actors and other members of the theatrical profession have pledged not to perform in Washington until theatres there end their Jim Crow practices.

* * *

Herbert Morrison, now British deputy prime minister, was a CO in World War I, and in 1926 was a leader in the campaign for signatures to a pledge to "refuse to support or render war service to any Government which resorts to arms."

* * *

There were eight COs on the Isle of Man during the war.

The 1947 budget for the national FOR, adopted by the Council in October, totals $113,210.

* * *

"The House on Cedar Street," at 535 Cedar Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., has been set up to accommodate delegates from social and religious groups coming to see government officials or agencies. Frank and Florence Olmstead are in charge for the first year, and are living there.

* * *

EVANSTON, ILL. (RNS)—As an "act of atonement," the Methodist Commission on World Peace decided at its annual meeting here to give $1,000 as the first step in building up a fund "to be used for the alleviation of suffering" in each of the Japanese cities destroyed by the atomic bomb.

Employment Openings

(FELLOWSHIP *publishes without charge notices of job opportunities that are open to conscientious objectors and "situations wanted" ads for COs. All such notices should be received by the first of the month preceding publication.*)

Full-time manager for Antioch College Cooperative Dining-room; $40 weekly; Sept. 1-June 30. Must be filled by January 15. Write Antioch Community Cooperative, 120 West Limestone Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Editorial Assistant wanted for pacifist publication. Copy editing, layout, promotion skills desirable. Write c/o FELLOWSHIP.

Professor of mathematics (M.A. or better) for small college; start January 20. Also Russian-German instructor. Write Arthur W. Calhoun, Dean, Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas.

Ex-prison CO seeks employment. A.B. in journalism; M.A. in sociology; experience directing social research, boys work in settlement houses, YMCA, and Boy Scout groups. Write c/o FELLOWSHIP.

CO, now in prison, needs job for release. Airplane and engine mechanic, holding CAA licenses "A" and "E." Write c/o John Spanur, 1376 W. 122nd Street. Cleveland. Ohio.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Atomic Age No. 1

Gentlemen: You Are Mad! by Pierrepont B. Noyes. Baxter Fréres, 1946. 79 pp. (large format, paper cover) $1.00.

Back in 1927 a book called *The Pallid Giant* appeared in the bookstores briefly, and was soon forgotten. Its author, a highly successful business man and son of one of the leaders of the Oneida Community, had become highly disturbed at the course of world events. He had been a member of the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, and what happened there convinced him that the world was headed for war that might easily result in the complete annihilation of the human race.

The Pallid Giant has been reprinted in the Atomic Age under the title *Gentlemen: You Are Mad!* It is the author's well-conceived attempt to warn his fellow men of what may be ahead. Cast in the form of a novel, its story is only the vehicle to carry his deep concern, but it is effective in that style nonetheless. It is the story of an ancient civilization, far more advanced than our own, in which the discovery of a new weapon surprisingly like the atomic bomb in its wholesale destructiveness led eventually to its obliteration.

In that alone there is nothing too unique; other writers have toyed with the same idea. It is the precise definition of the reason why men went knowingly to mass suicide that makes the book important. Not the weapon, but the fear, and the fear of fear: this was what drove them inexorably to destroy one another and themselves. And the lone survivor, who lived to write the story of fear, was the one who refused to arm himself: the one who urged the same course that Christian pacifism urges today.

It is not difficult to see in the present writhings of national fears and ambitions the same convulsive efforts with which that earlier group tried to free itself from the threat of doom. And the next steps are too clearly and logically traced for comfort. *Gentlemen: You Are Mad!* suggests the only escape, and it is straight pacifism!

A.H.

"Chapels They Cannot Enter"

White Man's Burden, by Ruth Smith. The Vanguard Press, New York. 1946. 222 pp. $2.00.

All men suffer from the disease of racism, not just the immediate victims. In her "personal testament," Ruth Smith, a white woman from a small Kansas town, expresses the deep shame felt by all white persons who recognize that they are part of the offending majority group. In maintaining racial lines, lines that inevitably warp and wreck other human beings, the white race denies the unity of all men. Miss Smith testifies that there is not enough will to change the pattern of society. "For we who are white . . . have learned to sing of brotherhood in chapels which Negroes cannot enter." Of the liberal people who are her friends she says: "We had grown up loving the pattern of our world, not trying to change it."

This book describes the very personal experiences of the writer in confronting racism as a girl in Kansas, as a student in college, as a teacher in a Negro school in the South, and as an organizational worker to free the Scottsboro boys. It so clearly expresses the emotions of other white persons concerned about the sin of color prejudice, that it inevitably drives one to seek effective channels for action against the evils of discrimination and segregation.

GEORGE M. HOUSER.

Coops and the Future

The War on Malnutrition and Poverty: The Role of Consumer Cooperatives. By J. Murray Luck. Harper and Brothers, 1946. 214 pp. $1.50.

Every man, whoever he is, should get a liberal daily diet of 3,000 calories, says Dr. Luck, president of Consumers' Cooperative Society, Palo Alto, Cal., and professor of biochemistry at Stanford University. Wherever cooperatives exist, they help their member-patrons to obtain adequate diets, at the same time reducing poverty by extending mutual aid.

This book recounts vividly and briefly histories of several co-op food stores, credit unions, and the adult education cooperative project among Nova Scotia fishermen. Drawing on his storehouse of knowledge in the fields of biochemistry and of social science, Dr. Luck gives a scholarly analysis of poverty as the main cause of malnutrition, and of consumer cooperatives as the means by which people can help themselves. His discussion of giving relief and his evaluations of Rochdale and other types of mutual aid add to the book's value.

Cooperative Communities at Work. By Henrik F. Infield. Dryden Press, 1945. 201 pp. $3.00.

The main advantages of the modern, subsistence, cooperative community are, Infield says, the rehabilitation of the destitute farmer, the modernization of farming, and the raising of the cultural standards of rural life. Of the 262 Utopias recorded by American history, Infield reminds us that those which succeeded best and lasted longest usually were the communities having a religious bond and motivation. He urges that many of Europe's fifteen to twenty million homeless persons be resettled on subsistence, cooperative, agrarian communities similar to the Kvutza groups organized by Zionists in Palestine during the last forty years.

FRED NORA.

Books Received

(Some will be reviewed in future issues)

Last Reprieve? by Edwin McNeill Poteat. Harpers, 1946. 105 pp. $1.00. The time is short; how can man be strong and unafraid?

On Being Fit to Live With, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harpers, 1946. 219 pp. $2.00. Twenty-five of Dr. Fosdick's latest sermons.

A Star Pointed North, by Edmund Fuller. Harpers, 1946. 361 pp. $2.75. A novel built around the life of the great Negro leader, Frederick Douglass.

The Development of China, by Kenneth S. Latourette. Houghton Mifflin. 1946. 344 pp. $3.00. The sixth revision of an authoritative book, published originally in 1917.

Quaker Anecdotes, by Irvin C. Poley and Ruth Poley. Pendle Hill, 1946. 57 pp. $.25.

A Guide to True Peace, compiled from the writings of Fenelon, Mme. Guyon, and Molinos. Harpers, with Pendle Hill, 1946. 118 pp. $1.00. Devotional material, first published in 1813.

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A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Who Is China?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In Wilfred Wellock's article "Descent in Five Phases" we have the cause of so-called "capitalistic" war in Phase I (Cheapness) after a little probing. We are told that "China, who did not want the balance of her village economy upset by cheap, machine-made British goods, said no to our 'travelers'." When we find out *who* "China" was then, we shall discover who did not want the machine-made British goods (or who did not want a change in the economic status quo) in the *land* called China.

RICHARD T. HALL.

Brotherhood and the Churches

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The people of India maintain that good government is no substitute for self-government. In the same way, all the wonderful things we whites as a "superior" group might do for Negroes, in providing better schools, better housing, or even better jobs is no substitute for real equality in treatment. We must stand for their inherent right to complete freedom. The right we claim to go where we want to go must be extended to them. Real freedom to ride, eat, sleep, live, and worship wherever they choose, the same as anyone else, inherently belongs to them.

The big question is where to begin. As a minister of Christ I have a "sneakin' sort o' feelin' " that one place we ought to begin is with the church. We do not like to think of our Christian churches as practicing discrimination. It comes as a shock to some of us to realize that they are. True, we do not put up any no-admission signs for Negroes. But usually we do not go out of our way to welcome them, either, and there is a widely observed unwritten law that Negroes do not come to our churches except by special invitation. If you think this is wholly because Negroes prefer their own separate congregations, just talk to a few progressive ones. See how eager they are to find churches which are Christian enough to be willing to receive them on the basis of equality and brotherhood. And talk with your conservative Caucasian church members, and see how satisfied they are to have the Negroes stay by themselves—"where they belong."

We are informed that Christian Science bodies, many Roman Catholic churches, and a few smaller sects receive members of all minorities without discrimination. Why cannot the rest of our churches do the same? Why should our leading Protestant churches be the worst offenders?

HOWARD R. CARY.

Pacifists Under Bushels

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I heard a prominent pacifist minister preach last night. I exerted great effort to corral a group from my church to go with me the 52 miles or so to the church where he spoke. I am sure he made a deep impression, and that immeasurable good might well come out of getting us all to pray more, as he urged.

I am impatient, however, with pacifists who in this ghastly crisis are keeping their pacifist light strictly under the bushel. I am sure not one soul even suspected that Dr. L. was or is a pacifist, who did not already know it. In these times it is just as disgraceful that anyone should know us and not know we are pacifist as it has always been a disgrace that people should be Christians and not radiate the fact convincingly.

Today there are a lot of saintly appearing souls who have no hesitation in endorsing block-busters and such, so the spoken word must always be used to supplement an appearance of radiating good will. Jesus did not rely on atmosphere alone. He took care to express himself unmistakably on crucial attitudes. If there ever was a time when pacifists should do so, it certainly is now. These big ones, if they would only dare half as much before a crowd of thousands of professed Christians as they supposedly do in Christ's name in the midst of savages, maybe in time our homeland Christianity would come up to competitive levels with that of ex-cannibals and converted head-hunters! As long as preachers and prophets who are pacifists go about the country spreading sentimental good will so they will be sure to get a return invitation merely, we shall remain in that much more darkness.

ANDREW B. SMITHER.

Call to Penitence

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

At the close of the six years which have seen the most terrible war and cold-blooded destruction of life and homes on record, is not a nationwide expression of humble repentance in order? Repentance for our careless indifference to the rise of dictatorships which a living Faith in the spirit of democracy, an understanding of underprivileged peoples could have checked—repentance for carrying on the most ruthless war strategy against which only a few protested.

This is a call to all socially minded organizations, churches, schools, colleges, etc., to give expression to such contrition and to a pledge to outlaw war, if not simultaneously, then each at its own time and place, as early in the New Year as possible.

Let us prayerfully repent and let us hallow our resolve with a truly sacrificial giving to the millions, still homeless, still cold and hungry and destitute, as a fitting precursor to an era dedicated to Peace.

HÉLÈNE M. KOBBÉ.

More About the Bandwagon

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am glad to have A. J. Muste as company in The True Revolution. ("I cannot believe that mankind can get war out of its system save by a moral decision, a moral effort, and by willingness to pay a terrific price, such as man has repeatedly paid for war.")

I am glad to find that John Haynes Holmes at least agrees that world government is "no solution to our problems" and "is not the final goal." And I suspect that if he re-reads that prophetic book, *Out of Darkness,* which contains, I am still convinced, much more wisdom than *The Anatomy of Peace,* he may again agree that world government is not even necessarily a wise step toward that "final goal."

And, speaking of things for which I am glad, I am glad but not surprised to learn that Milton Mayer still has more faith in his True Revolution than in a worldly World Government. Maintains Mayer: (*Progressive,* Oct 21)

> "Five years ago we fell for the pernicious doctrine that 'We must lick Hitler first.' Now we are asked to fall for it again, in the guise of, 'We've got to get world government first.' But this business of 'first things first' distracted us from the primary job we had to do at home and it will, if we fall for it, distract us again."

With his own enviable wisdom, Mayer continues:

> "The way to talk about freedom is to have it. The way to get world government is to work for one based on brotherhood and nothing else. And the way to get brotherhood is to work for it right here and right now, undoing the evils we have done and doing the good we haven't. This can be done if we will; this is within our power."

As a footnote to *The Pacifist Bandwagon,* I would like to add: After studying the results of the recent elections in the land of The Model Government, do the proponents of World Government *really* believe The People would have the sagacity to elect Their Friends rather than Their Enemies to represent them in the Councils of the WG?

The Wise People of America defeated Wheeler, La Follette, and Jerry Voorhis. And they—the Wise People of America—elected Talmadge, Bilbo and Knowland. And, though I will fight like h . . . to defeat it, I am afraid they elected Conscription, too. Of course, The Wise Peoples of the World may be different. But I'm dubious.

M. PALMER BRYANT.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: **Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.;** ***Northwest:*** **Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.;** ***Northern California:*** **Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.;** ***Southwest:*** **Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.**

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